

Message Text

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ACTION PRS-01

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USINFO WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

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FOR S/PRS; DEPARTMENT PASS NSC FOR MR. SCROWCROFT AND
WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. NESSEN; NAIROBI FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY;
IOP, IAA, IPS/PA, IBS/PA.

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: LUNCHEON TOAST IN DAKAR

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REFTEL WAS TEXT AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY. ACTUAL REMARKS FOLLOW:

PRIME MINISTER, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND FRIENDS. ON BEHALF OF ALL
OF MY COLLEAGUES I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR THE EXTRAORDINARILY
CORDIAL RECEPTION WE HAVE HAD HERE WHICH HAVE ADDED A HUMAN
DIMENSION TO THE ALREADY CLOSE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP THAT WE HAVE
WITH YOUR COUNTRY.

I HAVE COME HERE, MR. MINISTER, WITH THE PURPOSE OF STRENGTHENING
THE FRIENDLY TIES THAT HAVE EXISTED FOR SO LONG BETWEEN OUR TWO
NATIONS AND I AM HERE TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS ON ISSUES OF
CONCERN WHICH TOOK PLACE LAST YEAR BETWEEN PRESIDENT SENGHOR
AND PRESIDENT FORD. WHEN YOU, MR. MINISTER AND PRESIDENT
SENGHOR VISITED THE UNITED STATES. I AM DELIGHTED TO BE IN THIS
VIBRANT COUNTRY. THE CULTURES, THE RELIGIONS, THE RACES THAT
MEET HERE IN DAKAR ARE A LIVING DEMONSTRATION THAT DISTINCTIVE
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CULTURAL IDENTITIES CAN THRIVE EVEN AS THEY CONTRIBUTE TO THE

BEST ASPIRATIONS OF OUR COMMON HUMANITY IN AN ERA OF INTER-DEPENDENCE. THEY ARE ASPIRATIONS WHICH OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHARE-- OUR HOPES FOR PEACE, FOR JUSTICE, AND FOR THE WELL-BEING OF OUR PEOPLES. TODAY I WANT TO TOUCH ON EACH OF THESE THREE OBJECTIVES-- PARTICULARLY THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC WELL-BEING, WHICH IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE NATIONS OF THE SAHEL.

SINCE OUR TWO PRESIDENTS TALKED IN WASHINGTON, MR. MINISTER, WE HAVE SEEN SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN AFRICA WITH EVENTS THAT COMPEL OUR CONCERN, AS WELL AS DEVELOPMENTS THAT GIVE US GREATER CAUSE FOR HOPE. ADDITIONAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE WON THEIR INDEPENDENCE BUT IN ANGOLA THERE HAS COME A NEW EXTRACONTINENTAL INTERVENTION A PROFOUNDLY DISTURBING AND UNACCEPTABLE DEVELOPMENT. AT THE SAME TIME THE CAUSE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS AROUSED WIDE CONCERN IN AFRICA AND AROUND THE WORLD, BRINGING NEW CLAIMS FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE.

THE PROSPERITY OF AFRICA HAS FELT ANEW THE IMPACT OF TROUBLING FORCES. THE WRATH OF NATURE AND THE INSTABILITIES OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY HAVE BROUGHT SUFFERING AND A SENSE OF INSECURITY TO PARTS OF AFRICA AND TO MANY OTHER AREAS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. BUT THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE LED TO A NEW RECOGNITION BY THE WORLD COMMUNITY OF A NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE AND COMMON ACTION. THEY HAVE BROUGHT A VIGOROUS RESPONSE FROM MY COUNTRY AND OTHERS WHO SEEK TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE US TO HELP CONSTRUCT A NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

IN THE COURSE OF MY TRIP TO THIS CONTINENT, I HAVE SOUGHT TO CONVEY AND TO DEVELOP THE UNITED STATES' POSITION ON THESE THREE ASPECTS OF OUR MUTUAL CONCERN.

PEACE IS OUR COMMON GOAL. BUT TRUE PEACE MUST SERVE POSITIVE PURPOSES. IT MUST, TO BE MEANINGFUL, PERMIT NATIONS TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY FREE FROM OUTSIDE PRESSURE OR THREAT; IT MUST ENHANCE THE UNITY OF PEOPLES, NOT FRAGMENT THEM. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS -- SINCE THE COLONIAL ERA -- OPPOSED OUTSIDE INTERVENTION IN AFRICA. WE LENT FIRM SUPPORT TO THE PROCESS OF DE-COLONIZATION AND EVER SINCE HAVE RESOLUTELY OPPOSED THE RETURN OF GREAT POWER RIVALRY TO AFRICA. AS ADLAI STEVENSON SAID TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1961, "AFRICA FOR AFRICANS MEANS UNCLASSIFIED

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AFRICA FOR AFRICANS, AND NOT AFRICA AS A HUNTING GROUND FOR ALIEN AMBITIONS."

IF EXTRACONTINENTAL POWERS ARE FREE TO PICK AND CHOOSE BETWEEN AFRICAN FACTIONS; IF THEY CAN PROCEED TO CREATE BLOCS OF CLIENT NATIONS, THE RESULT CAN ONLY BE DETRIMENTAL -- TO THE FREEDOM OF AFRICAN STATES, AND TO AFRICA'S CONTINENTAL SOLIDARITY.

THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO DEAL WITH ANY AFRICAN FACTION OR GOVERNMENT. WE DO NOT LOOK TO THEIR IDEOLOGY BUT TO WHETHER THEY ARE THE RESULT OF AFRICAN DECISIONS AND REPRESENT AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS. WE HAVE MOST RECENTLY DEMONSTRATED THIS POLICY IN OUR DEALINGS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE. WE TAKE A SIMILAR STAND TOWARD ANGOLA. WE ARE READY TO OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ANGOLAN AUTHORITIES REGARDING NORMALIZING RELATIONS, INCLUDING EVENTUAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION. BUT OUR COMMITMENT TO AFRICAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND UNITY COMPELS US FIRST TO DETERMINE THE INTENTIONS OF THE ANGOLAN AUTHORITIES TOWARD THE MASSIVE PRESENCE OF NON-AFRICAN TROOPS ON THEIR SOIL LONG AFTER ALL OTHER NON-ANGOLAN FORCES HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN. HOW CAN A GOVERNMENT BE CONSIDERED AFRICAN THAT REQUIRES 15 THOUSAND CUBAN TROOPS?

THE CAUSE OF JUSTICE IN AFRICA IS A COMPELLING CONCERN OF ALL WHO CARE FOR HUMAN DIGNITY. I HAVE, IN THE COURSE OF MY TRIP, GIVEN AMERICA'S FIRM COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE OF MAJORITY RULE AND RACIAL JUSTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND I APPRECIATE YOUR KIND WORDS IN THIS REGARD, MR. FOREIGN MINISTER. ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT FORD I PUT FORWARD IN LUSAKA A CONCRETE 10-POINT PROGRAM ON THE URGENT QUESTION OF RHODESIA. IN CARRYING OUT THIS PROGRAM WE WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA, AND ZAMBIA AND WITH ALL OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, AND I UNDICATED THE SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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SELF-DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA AND THE END OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. THERE IS NO NEED FOR US TO CONTINUE THE DEBATE

BETWEEN THOSE COMMITTED TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND THOSE WHO SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO ARMED STRUGGLE. FOR ONE FACT IS CLEAR: CHANGE WILL COME, AND IT CAN ONLY BE PERMANENTLY RATIFIED BY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE UNITED STATES URGES ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED URGENTLY TO BEND THEIR EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATIONS LEADING RAPIDLY TO MAJORITY RULE AND SELF-DETERMINATION. IN OUR VIEW THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO AVOID A NEEDLES AND TRAGIC BLOODBATH; THE ONLY WAY TO CREATE A HARMONIOUS FUTURE FOR BLACKS AND WHITES FREE FROM BITTERNESS AND REPRISALS.

LET ME TURN TO DISCUSS NOW IN GREATER DETAIL THE THIRD MAJOR ASPIRATION WHICH OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHARE AND WHICH THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS MENTIONED -- THE URGENT QUESTION OF ECONOMIC WELL-BEING.

THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN A LEADING ROLE IN DEVELOPING THE INITIATIVES NEEDED IF NATIONS ARE TO BUILD TOGETHER A NEW INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION. LAST SEPTEMBER AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY I SET FORTH A COMPREHENSIVE SET OF PROPOSALS AIMED AT ACHIEVING PROGRESS ON THE CENTRAL ISSUES OF TRADE, COMMODITIES, ENERGY, FINANCE, AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE POOREST NATIONS. I WILL CONTINUE THIS EFFORT NEXT WEEK IN NAIROBI, AT THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT. ALL THESE ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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URGENT ISSUES WHICH THE NATIONS OF NORTH AND SOUTH MUST COOPERATIVELY ADDRESS IF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS TO COME SWIFTLY AND UNDER CONDITIONS FAIR TO ALL. ONE OF THE PRIMARY TOPICS I SHALL ADDRESS AT NAIROBI WILL BE COMMODITIES, AND THE BURDEN WHICH EXCESSIVE SWINGS IN THE WORLD MARKET IMPOSES UPON NATIONS WHICH, LIKE SENEGAL, RELY HEAVILY UPON A SINGLE COMMODITY FOR THE PROSPERITY OF THEIR ECONOMIES.

BUT LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT MUST BE BASED UPON SUSTAINED EFFORT. NO PLANS FOR THE FUTURE CAN BE SECURE IF THEY ARE CARRIED OUT UNDER THE CONSTANT THREAT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS OR NATURAL DISASTER. SENEGAL, A NATION OF THE SAHEL, KNOW THIS AS WELL AS ANY NATION. THE TRAGIC CYCLE OF RECURRENT DROUGHT AND FAMINE WHICH AFFLICT THIS AREA HAS DRAMATIZED TO THE WORLD THAT ALL OUR EFFORTS AT ECONOMIC PROGRESS DEPEND UPON OUR SUCCESS IN MASTERING THE FORCES OF NATURE AND HARNESSING THEM TO THE SERVICE OF MANKIND.

SENEGAL, ALONG WITH OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE SAHEL, HAS BEEN DEEPLY AFFECTED BY THE DETERIORATING ECOLOGICAL CONDITION OF THIS REGION. THE RECURRENT DROUGHT OF THE PAST FEW YEARS HAS MADE CLEAR THAT THE DESERT IS ENCROACHING ON A LARGE SCALE, AND THAT FOOD PRODUCTION CAPACITY IN WESTERN AFRICA IS SERIOUSLY THREATENED. IF PRESENT TRENDS CONTINUE, IN TEN YEARS THE SAHEL WILL NEED TO IMPORT ONE MILLION TONS OF GRAIN IN A NORMAL YEAR,

AN AMOUNT EQUAL TO THE LARGEST IMPORTS AT THE HEIGHT OF THE DROUGHT. IN RESPONSE TO THIS CRISIS THE UNITED STATES HAS, SINCE THE LATE 1960'S, MORE THAN QUADRUPLD OUR AID TO THE SAHEL NATIONS. AND WE ARE GRATIFIED THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PROVIDE EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE WHICH HAS DONE SO MUCH TO SAVE HUMAN LIFE. BUT TRADITIONAL AID LEVELS AND METHODS WILL NOT BE ENOUGH. NOR CAN ANY ONE COUNTRY OR ANY SINGLE DONOR PROVIDE THE RESOURCES NECESSARY TO MEET THE CRITICAL, LONG-TERM NEEDS OF THE SAHEL. WHAT IT NOW NEEDS IS A COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM THAT RATHER THAN EASE THE EFFECTS OF THE DROUGHT WILL HELP ROLL BACK THE DESERT, INSTEAD OF RELIEF MEASURES DEVELOP ADDITIONAL WATER RESOURCES, INCREASE CROP ACREAGE, AND BUILD FOOD STORAGE FACILITIES IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT HARD-WON PROGRESS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WILL NOT CONTINUE TO BE WIPED OUT BY RECURRENT NATURAL DISASTER.

TO MEET THIS CHALLENGE, THE COMMUNITY OF CONCERNED NATIONS SHOULD
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ORGANIZE AN INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM TO UNDERTAKE A SYSTEMATIC AND COMPREHENSIVE ATTACK ON THE SAHEL'S DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS TO ELIMINATE THE PROBLEM OF THE DROUGHT RATHER THAN TO EASE IT. IN THE LONG TERM THIS COULD COST FAR LESS THAN THE ENDLESS ANNUAL RELIEF EFFORTS. THIS WILL REQUIRE MOBILIZING FOREIGN AND LOCAL INVESTMENT ON A MAJOR SCALE OVER THE NEXT DECADE, ESPECIALLY THROUGH MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS.

TO THIS END, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS WITH CONCERNED NATIONS AIMED AT THE CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT INVESTMENT PROGRAM TO BE INTEGRATED AND DEDICATED TO THE GOAL OF EVENTUAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY FOR THE SAHEL. THIS WILL MEAN; INITIATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAJOR RIVER BASINS-- THE SENEGAL, GAMBIA, NIGER AND VOLTA, AS WELL AS THE LAKE CHAD BASIN -- TO REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON ANNUAL RAINFALL AND PROMOTE FOOD PRODUCTION; DEVELOPING BROADER AND MORE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMS FOR UTILIZATION AND CONSERVATION OF GROUND WATER; UNDERTAKING A MAJOR BROAD-SCALE EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE USE OF DRY LAND AREAS FOR CROP AND LIVESTOCK, PARTICULARLY UNTIL COMPREHENSIVE WATER RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CAN HAVE AN EFFECT; DEVELOPING DISTRIBUTION SYSTEMS COMMENSURATE WITH IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE; UNDERTAKING MAJOR REFORESTATION PROGRAMS; DEVELOPING BASIC TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS NETWORKS; AND MOUNTING A CONCERTED, MASSIVE ATTACK ON THE PROBLEMS OF DISEASE AND INADEQUATELY TRAINED LOCAL MANPOWER.

SUCH A PROGRAM WOULD DEAL WITH THE CHALLENGER OF DEVELOPMENT IN A METHODICAL AND COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY. EACH ELEMENT WOULD BE PLANNED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE PRIMARY GOAL -- SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND SELF-SUSTAINING GROWTH FOR THE SAHEL. THUS, ITS ORGANIZATION MUST; PROVIDE MECHANISMS FOR DONORS AND AFRICANS TO SET AGREED PROGRAM PRIORITIES AND SELECT THE APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGIES THEY

WILL REQUIRE; ALLOW AFRICAN STATES TO PARTICIPATE EITHER ON A

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NATIONAL BASIS OR THROUGH STRENGTHENED REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS;
PROVIDE THE MEANS TO CONCERT THE EFFORTS OF DONORS, EVEN THOUGH
MANY OF THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS MAY IN FACT BE MADE BILATERALLY; AND
UTILIZE THE PLANNING, ORGANIZING AND COORDINATIVE CAPACITY OF
EXISTING MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THIS TASK MAKES INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN-
DISPENSABLE. FORTUNATELY, A FORUM ALREADY EXISTS IN WHICH A
COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY CAN NOW BE ELABORATED.
AFRICAN NATIONS HAVE WELCOMED THE FORMATION OF ANEW INTER-
NATIONAL COORDINATIVE MECHANISM -- THE CLUB DES AMIS DU SAHEL.
THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE SUCCESS OF THE FIRST
MEETING OF THE CLUB HERE IN DAKAR IN MARCH. MUCH OF THE CREDIT
IS DUE TO PRESIDENT SENGHOR FOR HIS LEADERSHIP AND PERSONAL
ATTENTION TO THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THAT MEETING.

TO ADVANCE THIS EFFORT, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE
IN AN EXAMINATION OF A MAJOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE CLUB. THE POTENTIAL OF THE SAHEL AND THE
RESPONSIBILITY WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BEARS FOR BRINGING
A NEW, BRIGHTER, FUTURE TO THIS REGION COMPELS OUR ATTENTION. ALL
NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, INDUSTRIAL NATIONS, THE
OIL-RICH NATIONS INCLUDING SOME AFRICAN STATES SHOULD PARTICIPATE
TOGETHER WITH MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS.
MR. MINISTER, THERE IS MUCH WORK TO BE DONE TO CONSTRUCT THE KIND

OF PEACEFUL AND COOPERATIVE WORLD FOR WHICH WE ALL YEARN.

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SENEGAL AND THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE IMPORTANT WORK TO DO TOGETHER AND IN CONCERT WITH OTHER RESPONSIBLE NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

SENEGAL HAS EXERCISED AN INFLUENTIAL ROLE BOTH ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. YOU ARE AN EXAMPLE OF HOW A SMALL NATION, WITH CREATIVE AND FAR-SEEING LEADERSHIP, CAN PLAY A PART ON THE WORLD STAGE FAR EXCEEDING ITS SIZE OR POWER. THE UNITED STATES RESPECTS AND ACCEPTS SENEGAL'S NON-ALIGNMENT; WE VALUE SENEGAL'S RESPONSIBLE VOICE FOR FAIR AND PRAGMATIC SOLUTIONS TO GLOBAL PROBLEMS; WE HOLD A GREAT ADMIRATION FOR SENEGAL'S DEDICATION TO RECONCILIATION BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE, BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH -- AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE THE CREATIVE POTENTIAL OF A WORLD OF DIVERSITY AND INTERDEPENDENCE.

THE EXEMPLAR OF THIS IS OF COURSE YOUR WON PRESIDENT SENGHOR -- ONE OF THE LEGITIMATELY GREAT MEN OF OUR TIME. HE HAS GIVEN US ALL A PRICELESS AWARENESS OF THE MEANING AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE MODERN PREDICAMENT. AS A RENOWNED STATESMAN AND POET HE HAS PROBED THE FAR REACHES OF THE HUMAN CONDITION AND THE HEIGHTS OF LYRICAL EXPRESSION. HE HAS GIVEN US HOPE THAT THE TRAUMA OF MODERNIZATION NEED NOT -- INDEED, MUST NOT -- LET THE ROOTS OF OUR TRADITIONAL CULTURE ATROPY. HE HAS SHOWN US THAT THE MULTITUDE OF THE WORLD'S DISTINCTIVE CULTURES CAN AND MUST PROVIDE THE INTERLOCKING STRUCTURE OF THAT WIDER GLOBAL COMMUNITY OF MAN WHICH IS THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF US ALL.

EXCELLENCIES, I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO PRESIDENT SENGHOR, TO THE SUCCESS OF YOUR NATION, AND TO THE COOPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN SENEGAL AND THE UNITED STATES."KISSINGER

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